The Southern PATRIOT

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SCEF Announces Advisory Group

The Southern Conference Educational Fund recently announced the formation of a 102-member Advisory Committee, representing 18 southern and border states and the District of Columbia.

Members of this committee serve in an advisory capacity to the 62-member Board of Directors which manages the affairs of the organization.

Advisory Committee members are: **Alabama:** Dr. John R. Bross, Clarence E. Crayton, Dr. A. M. Freeman, Mrs. Arthur Lobman; **Arkansas:** the Rev. Stephen P. Spottswood, P. Eldon Dennis; **Delaware:** Rabbi Herbert E. Drooz;

Florida: Frederick H. Atwood, Prof. G. G. Becknell, Clark M. Emery, Edward Guy Francis, the Rev. James Hudson, Joel D. Hunter, the Rev. Floyd M. Irvin, Elizabeth Provence, Dr. Oscar Riddle, Peter H. Robinson, Dr. Eugene R. Shippen, Clifford A. Straus, the Rev. Robert H. Wilson;

Georgia: C. A. Scott, Cmdr. Frank W. Spencer; **Kentucky:** Dean Julia F. Allen, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, Dr. John S. Chambers, Dr. E. G. Trimble, Prof. Alfred M. Wolfson; **Louisiana:** Dr. Ellinor A. Behre; Mrs. T. S. Behre, Mrs. Paul A. Blanchard, Armand V. Boutte, Sr., Rabbi Julian B. Feibelman, Dr. Samuel L. Gandy, Verneta E. Hill, Dr. Forrest E. LaViolette;

Maryland: Byron Allen, Sidney Hollander, Mrs. John O. Neustadt, Mrs. Victor P. Noyes; **Mississippi:** J. A. Burns; **Missouri:** the Rev. Raymond B. Bragg, Dr. Oliver C. Cox, the Rev. Allen Hackett, Stuart Moore; **New Mexico:** Witter Bynner, Mrs. Arthur Musgrave;

North Carolina: Dean Grady D. Davis, Prof. J. S. Himes, E. R. Merrick, Dr. Oscar K. Rice, Dr. W. Carson Ryan, the

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INTEGRATION EDGES SOUTH

—Louisville Defender Photo

TODAY'S HERO THE NEGRO CHILD

The Southern Patriot takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the Negro children of the South who today are blazing the trail toward integrated schools. Whether they be high school students in Arkansas or North Carolina or first graders in Nashville, these children—braving the shouts of mobs and the jeers of misguided whites to walk the path into the future—are the real heroes of mid-Twentieth Century America. Without their courage and strength, no court order and no action by any adult could translate the principle of desegregated schools into life. On their slight shoulders rests the hope of a better world. All who dream today of a society where men can live together as brothers and generations of white and Negro children yet unborn owe to them an eternal debt of gratitude.

School integration inched southward as classes started this year. Headlines centered on violent trouble spots:

Little Rock, Ark., where informed opinion agreed that integration would have gone smoothly had not Governor Faubus called out the National Guard to block 9 Negro students from entering the high school, touching off a major test of Federal-State power.

Nashville, Tenn., where considerable public opinion also favored compliance with the law but a small group of rabid segregationists fanned flames that led to the night-time bombing of a school.

Charlotte, Winston-Salem and Greensboro, N. C., where there was no major violence but 8 Negro students had to brave jeers and taunting of fellow-students and one girl was finally forced to withdraw.

Birmingham, Ala., where a courageous Negro minister, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, was brutally beaten when he tried to enroll his children in a white high school.

Meanwhile desegregation proceeded quietly in a number of other less-publicized spots, including two newly-desegregated districts in Arkansas.

The Southern Educational Reporting Service said 740 of the South's 3,040 bi-racial school districts had started desegregation. Only seven states had no public school integration.

Perhaps the most significant news of the new term was that in the trouble spots of the past there was relative quiet this year. In Clinton, Tenn., 17 Negro students enrolled without incident. In Sturgis, Ky., there were minor disorders, but they subsided quickly; a proposed white boycott never got off the ground. (For news of Clay, Ky., see back page.) In West Virginia, where early school disorders flared a few years ago, only two counties remained completely segregated.

The pattern seemed clear. The violent spasms that grip some communities in the process of change are horrifying and destructive, but they are neither permanent nor fatal. It sometimes takes a while for a community to come to its senses and, conscious of its shame, to move toward the future. But where integration today appears impossible, it will be a fact tomorrow.

Civil Rights Bill Presents New Challenge

The Civil Rights Bill, passed by Congress with a modified jury trial provision after the last issue of The Patriot went to press, offers a two-fold challenge to all believers in human rights.

One is the necessity to urge the Federal government to make use of the limited powers the weakened bill provides—to use its injunctive provisions to insure voting rights and its Civil Rights Commission to focus attention on injustice. The caliber of the members appointed to this commission is crucial.

The second challenge is toward further civil rights legislation. The ice is now broken. Congress has passed the first civil rights law since 1875. The future possibilities are unlimited.

SOUTH PLAYING WITH FIRE, WILLIAMS WARNS

On September 2, 1957, SCEF President Aubrey Williams, delivering one of the principal addresses at the 25th anniversary celebration of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., issued a sober warning that many white Southerners, following today a course "little short of insanity," could plunge the nation into another armed rebellion.

The next day, September 3, headlines about the Arkansas governor's action in Little Rock, gave an added and ominous significance to his words.

The following are excerpts from this timely warning. Full text of speech is available from SCEF.

* * * *

"A small group of Southern states have set out to fight the morals of the present day world. These states are playing with fire . . . . There is but one thought in the Deep South today and that thought is to maintain the 'Southern Way of Life' . . . .

"In the pursuit of this over-riding desire . . . . the states involved . . . . are following a course fraught with the gravest danger. The danger is that they could plunge the nation into another armed rebellion in which the South stands to lose again everything it has gained.

"Southerners seem to have forgotten what happened to the South in a not too different situation . . . . The South lost everything it had. Its belongings were bought up for 10 cents on the dollar. The homes of the South were gutted and remained in ruins for two and three generations. Do we want that again? My father and my uncles had no opportunity to get an education. Few did for two generations. We made a fearful mistake at that time. Nobody should make the same mistake twice . . . .

"When men, like the leaders in Tuskegee and Macon County (Ala.) will go to the length of cutting out of a city the Negro voters and deprive themselves and other white residents of the taxes and the trade of these hundreds of families, who can say how far this thing will go? . . . .

"What makes the situation more ominous is that the South seems bent upon refusing to give any ground whatsoever. Its leaders are counselling complete defiance of the Federal law and all Federal Court decisions aimed at extending equal protection under law to the Negro people . . . .

"Who would have thought three years ago that the states of Virginia and North Carolina would have voted to defy the Federal government? Who would have thought a year ago that the Alabama Legislature would vote to authorize county registrars to destroy their records, rather than permit federal grand juries to check them? Nevertheless, it has happened. Who would have thought a year ago that the Alabama Legislature would report out favorably a bill to abolish whole counties . . . .?

"The right to criticize any law, passed or proposed, or any decisions of any court is the right of every citizen. Indeed (if he disagrees) it is his duty as a good citizen to do so . . . . What a citizen does not have the right to do is to defy the law or to refuse to abide by a decision of a constituted court of the Republic . . .

"Can any man listen to or read the speeches and witness the acts of the senators in Washington, who represent the South, without feeling that they are dangerously near to advocating open rebellion and definance of the Federal government? Can any man witness the acts, or listen to the words of the legislators and governors of the Deep South, without feeling a fear . . . . as to the possibilities which may lie ahead of such a defiant course? . . . . . Is it too much to hold that what they are doing is little short of insanity?

"Frankly, their conduct is that of men who have not thought through the full implications and potential consequences of what they are doing. Many of them are my friends and I hold them in high esteem, but I must say in all honesty that they are gambling with the future well-being of every home, every family, every child, every church, school and business in the South. They are following a course which will lead only to continuous strife and trouble and which may lead, God Forbid!, to a situation which could quickly get out of control.

"Who today can honestly say what the end result will be?"

. . . . And Integration Leaders Look to Future

As Williams issued his warning to those Southerners approaching "insanity," some of the saner people, meeting over the weekend at the Highlander celebration, discussed the future and what they could do about it. Over 100 Negro and white Southerners, along with a number of friends from the North, met in workshops to discuss changing patterns in various communities and to hear reports from some of the South's "integration beachheads." The following are excerpts from comments of some of the leaders of key struggles against segregation, the stories of which have appeared in previous issues of The Patriot:

The Rev. David H. Brooks, speaking of the Tallahassee, Fla., bus boycott, which he helps lead: "The foremost value has been the things that have happened to the people themselves . . . . It is a wonderful thing in the South to be able to walk the streets without fear . . . . because you have discovered you are an American citizen and you have taken a stand, not against white people but against injustice . . . . Never before have I been able to walk the streets of Tallahassee and meet my white friends and shake their hands like I do now—and I think they feel better about it too."

Dean Charles Gomillion, SCEF board member and leader of the efforts of Tuskegee, Ala., Negroes to win the right to vote: "The Negro is primarily interested in the free opportunity to participate in the affairs of his city and county as other citizens . . . . Our biggest problem is just being first class citizens . . . . We must try to reduce the fears so that Negro and white can meet together . . . We must better educate the white people to the aims of the Negro . . ."

Ralph Helstein, president of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, many of whose locals in the South have taken an uncompromising stand against segregation: "As a result of our activities over the years, we have had less difficulty with the White Citizens Councils than any other union . . . We believe this is the product of our continuing action in insisting that both as a measure of good economics and because of the issue of good morality, the union movement if it is to survive must be dedicated to the proposition of advancing man's welfare. . . . . This is a moral question, and only to the degree that you apply morality to the principles of trade unionism can it live . . . ."

Conrad Browne, member of the Koinonia Community in Georgia, explaining why his interracal group has determined to remain Americus, Ga., despite bombings, shooting, and constant threats of death: "One of our neighbor's children got up in the morning and her gown caught fire from the stove, and she was burned and died a week later. Through this experience we learned that our children if they were killed would have no more chance than this child and that, if they were killed, it would be dying for a cause and not without a cause. This example coming up just when it did helped us to make our le-

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Sanity Speaks Out in Arkansas

A courageous appeal to the white South to accept desegregation as the majority will of the nation was issued recently by Lee Ward, judge of the 12th Chancery District, Arkansas.

Delivering the summer commencement address at the University of Arkansas, Judge Ward said that the measure of a good citizen in a democracy is his respect for law and order. He went on to say:

". . . We find no fault with the citizenship of a man merely because he vigorously and vocally disagrees with the Supreme Court . . . It is all right to work day and night for legislative action which will change or nullify a decision you don't like. But it is *not* all right—under our system of government—for you to decide that you will ignore or violate the law as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court . . .

"Our citizens have a right to appeal to the legislative branch of our government for relief from what they may believe is an unjust or unwise court decision . . . All that is needed to bring about any such change is to obtain a majority vote in favor of the change you seek . . .

"Those elected officials who represent the Southern states in our national government are among the most able legislators and parliamentarians in the world. . . . These men have brought to bear upon the Congress of the United States every argument, every parliamentary maneuver, every artifice known to statesmanship in an effort to do away with or modify the decision of the Supreme Court on integration.

"They have failed.

"We in the South must now face up to a cold, hard fact. We are a part of the United States of America—one nation, indivisible. The majority of the people who make up this indivisible nation believe that the Supreme Court's decision on integration is fair, just, and reasonable. They have made it abundantly clear, through their elected national representatives, that this decision will not be either nullified or modified by legislative action.

"The due processes guaranteed to a free people have been made available to the people of the South—and we have used those processes. But we have lost the battle for national public opinion.

"We come now to an hour in our history when we must stop and take inventory of our beliefs . . . we must decide whether we do, in fact, believe in the principle of majority rule for our nation . . .

"Now—in this hour of defeat and travail—just how much do we believe in government of our nation through democratic processes? . . . Are we—now that one of our regional traditions has been repudiated and set aside by the nation as a whole—going to, in turn, repudiate and disown our nation? . . .

"Shall we adopt segregation of the races as the bedrock, immutable ideal and cling to it at all costs? Shall we abandon democratic processes in our national government just so we can retain segregation? Shall we, once again,

JUDGE LEE WARD
"Accept Majority Will"

undertake to withdraw the Southland from the Union and create a new nation where segregation can be the law of the land? What is the deep-down underlying, fundamental all-important principle which you are willing to accept as the guiding light and spirit of all governmental decisions? Is it democracy? Is it segregation? What is it? . . .

We suggest again for your consideration that the true measure of a citizen is the degree of respect which he has for law and order. We know of no more solid foundation upon which to build the future of our society . . . "

The full text of Judge Ward's address is available from the SCEF.

In Zebulon, Ga., a 71-year-old white farmer was sentenced to life imprisonment for the shotgun slaying of a young Negro mother he claimed "sassed" him.

LOOK TO FUTURE

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cision—that this was our place, this was our call, this was our witness."

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Montgomery bus boycott leader: "Counterbalancing the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan is another side: the work of hundreds of persons of the white South who realize they can't cut themselves off from the rest of the nation, working often in unpublicized ways to implement the Supreme Court decision . . . While the reactionary guardians of the status quo are busy crying 'never,' the system of segregation is crumbling all around them . . . The future is filled with marvellous possibilities. Let us not despair . . . ."

ADVISORS

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Rev. O. L. Sherrill, Dr. A. O. Steele, Dr. William R. Strassner, Gertrude Weil; **Oklahoma:** Dr. Arthur N. Bragg, Corrine Breeding, Bishop and Mrs. C. C. Coleman, Mrs. Louis B. Fritts, Dr. J. Rud Nielsen, the Rev. Calvin K. Stalnaker;

South Carolina: James M. Dabbs, Robert E. Moran, Sr., Prof. Charles F. Nesbitt, J. R. Walker; **Tennessee:** F. Woods Beckman, Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Evans, Mr. and Mrs. John R. Knight;

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Names of a Medical Advisory Committee, to assist in efforts against discrimination in this field, will be announced in a later issue.

The rather startling fact is that 75 percent of New York City's one million school children attend schools that are, for all practical purposes, segregated.

The groupings—all-white, all Negro, all Puerto Rican—are the result of housing segregation.